MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

LIEUT.-COL. W. MARTIN LEAKE.

A

BRIEF MEMOIR

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF THE LATE

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE,

D.C.L., F.R.S., &c. &c.

"* * * * * His memory will be cherished with respect as long as Greece enjoys independence and Greeks have any knowledge of literature; not only as the great scholar and geographer, but as the first and steadiest champion of Grecian liberty."

From a Letter written at Athens by G. Finlay, Esq.

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THE FOLLOWING

MEMOIR,

DRAWN UP IN ACCORDANCE WITH A REQUEST MADE BY THE LATE

MRS. WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE FROM ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS IN HER POSSESSION

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

THE SENATE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE,

TO WHICH UNIVERSITY

COLONEL LEAKE GAVE A SPECIAL PREFERENCE

OVER CERTAIN OTHER INSTITUTIONS OF A LIKE CHARACTER

IN A VERY IMPORTANT CLAUSE OF HIS WILL.

JOHN HOWARD MARSDEN.

GREAT OAKLEY, January 13, 1864.

MEMOIR

OF

THE LIFE

OF

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE.

Lieutenant-Colonel William Martin Leake was the second son of John Martin Leake, a commissioner for auditing the public accounts, by Mary the daughter of Peter Calvert, of Hadham. He was born in Bolton Row, May Fair, London, on January 14th, 1777.

At this period the Martin family had borne the name of Leake conjointly with their own for something more than half a century. In the year 1721, Captain Stephen Martin, of the Royal Navy, succeeded to certain estates devised to him by his brother-in-law and comrade in arms Admiral Sir John Leake, and he assumed the name and arms of the Leake family by royal warrant. In the victory over the French fleet at La Hogue, Captain Martin, serving at that time in Admiral Leake's ship the Eagle as first lieutenant, headed a successful attack made upon one of the enemy's largest ships by boats, and was severely wounded. The important services of Admiral Leake, in the relief of Gibraltar and Barcelona, and in the capture of Sardinia and other islands in the Mediterranean, occupy a very honourable position in the naval annals of the reign of Queen Anne.

Stephen Martin Leake, the eldest son of Captain Martin, was Colonel William Martin Leake's grandfather. He held the office of Garter King at Arms, and was the author of several valuable works upon heraldry. He wrote also a treatise upon English money, and a life of his kinsman the Admiral. In the number of his descendants now living are his grandson, Stephen Martin Leake, of Thorpe Hall in Essex, the present representative of the family, and Dr. James Prince Lee, the present Bishop of Manchester.

William Martin Leake, the subject of this memoir, received his professional education in the Royal Military Academy at Woolwich. Among his fellow-students he selected as his companions those who, like himself, were animated by a spirit of generous emulation, and with one of them, the late General Sir Howard Douglas, he formed a life-long friendship, which continued with feelings of unabated attachment on both sides for a period of nearly seventy years.

In the year 1794, having received his commission as a second lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, he was ordered to the West Indies, and he spent there the next four years, which he was accustomed to speak of as the least satisfactory part of his life. When quartered in Antigua, he wrote to his friends at home who had expressed their wish to receive a journal of his proceedings for a week, assuring them that if he were only to send a journal of any one single day in the week, they might take it as a continuous journal for the whole year round. Thus far, at least, the active-minded geographer of classical Greece was altogether out of his element.

In the year 1799, being now Captain Leake, he was appointed to a mission to Constantinople, for the purpose of instructing the Turkish troops in the use and practice of artillery; and he thus entered upon the scene of his future labours. In a bloody engagement, which had recently taken

place upon the coast of Egypt with the French troops under Buonaparte, the Turks had shown a considerable amount of courage, but they were greatly wanting in discipline: and it was thought advisable that competent English officers should be sent out to assist them. In this number Captain Leake was included, although he had scarcely completed his twenty-third year; and in company with Brigadier-General Koehler, Major Fletcher of the Royal Engineers, and sundry others, he proceeded from Constantinople to join the army on the coast of Egypt, under the command of the Grand Vizier, on January 19th, 1800. They traversed Asia Minor in a south-easterly direction to Kelenderis, the ancient Celenderis, on the coast of Cilicia: and, crossing over to Cyprus, they landed at Tzerina on February 11th. The following account of this journey is taken from a letter written by Captain Leake to his father a few days after their landing:—

Larneca, Cyprus, 17th February 1800.

"An express dispatch by Sir Sydney Smith affords me a very little time only to acquaint you with my proceedings since writing last.

"On the 15th of last month I received directions from General Koehler to hold myself in readiness to proceed with him to the army of the Grand Vizier. As it was conceived that our presence there was required immediately, it was resolved that we should travel on horseback, in the dress of Tatar couriers, and by the route which has been opened for them only since the Vizier's army has been in Syria. We were furnished by the Porte with a *firman*, or order, of the Grand Seignior, directing our being provided with reliefs of horses at the different posts, and also with a Janizary and a Tatar who were acquainted with the road. Our party consisted of the General, Major Fletcher, myself, Mr. Pink, our draughtsman, and Mr.

Carlyle, a clergyman, attached to Lord Elgin's embassy, who, wishing to proceed into the East to perfect himself in Arabic, of which he is a Professor at Cambridge, thought the present a safe opportunity of performing the journey.* We had two interpreters with us, and each of us his own English servant. The baggage of each of us occupied two horses, making altogether a caravan of thirty-six horses generally; some of them spare ones, with which we were provided at each post against accidents.

"In this manner we travelled along the shore of the gulph of Nicomedia, as far as the ferry of Maslâm, where we crossed to Hersek, and from thence to Isnic, anciently Nicæa, where we arrived on the 22nd.

"At Isnic we fell into the great Aleppo road, in which we continued to Konieh, anciently Iconium, passing through the places marked in D'Anville's map as follows—Lefkeh, Vizir Khan, Suhat, Eski Shehir, Sidi Ghazi, Kosru Khan, Boluadin, Aksher, Ilgoun, Ladikieh, anciently Laodicea,—and arrived at Konieh on the 31st of January.

"At Konieh we struck out of the great road into a country in which no Europeans have been seen, at least in the memory of the present inhabitants; through the towns of Cassabah, Caraman or Larandeh, over the mountains of Caramania, in which a ruined khan is the only habitation to be found for the night, to Moud, Sheik Omar, and came to the sea at Kelenderi, the ancient Celenderis, in the map called Kelnar. In this part of the road, that is, from Caraman, we were obliged to make use of camels for our bag-

* The more immediate object of Mr. Carlyle's mission was to search the libraries for ancient manuscripts. Certain memoranda of his travels are found in a series of letters addressed by him to the Bishops of Lincoln and Durham, and published by Walpole in his "Memoirs relating to European and Asiatic Turkey," 1818. Archdeacon Paley's humorous and characteristic letter of instructions to Carlyle, when about to set out upon his travels, may be found in Professor Blunt's article upon Paley in the "Quarterly Review."

gage, which retarded our march. We arrived at Kelnar on the 8th of February.

" On the 10th we passed the channel in a little Polacre schooner, and arrived at Cerina, on the North side of the island, on the morning of the 11th. We crossed the island through Lifcosia, and arrived at this port on the 14th.

" We have had sometimes considerable fatigue on the road, and always very hard fare; but, upon the whole, our journey has been very curious and delightful. We have been favoured with a continuation of fine weather, such as is seldom seen in England in the middle of the summer; and which only inconvenienced us by the heat. We have not been interrupted by a single wet day. I have kept an accurate journal, which I mean to continue, but I have not time to copy it by this opportunity.

" We found the Tigre* and the Theseus, with the rest of Sir Sydney Smith's squadron of gun-boats and other small vessels, at anchor here in the road, which is considered the best in the island; and the town is consequently the residence of the Consuls of the different nations. We are lodged in the house of our own Consul.

" Before this letter arrives you will probably have heard of the treaty concluded by the mediation of Sir Sydney Smith between the Grand Vizier and the French, for the evacuation of Egypt. The day after our arrival here, Sir Sydney showed us all the papers which had passed upon the subject. The conferences were carried on by agreement on board the Tigre, Sir Sydney having previously sent to General Kleber a copy of his instructions as Minister Plenipotentiary. General Desaix and Poussielque the

* On board the Tigre were the two French Generals Dupuy and Junot, who had been taken by the Theseus in attempting to escape from Alexandria.

Administrator General of Finance were the Commissioners appointed to treat on the part of Kleber. Desaix is so violent a man that it required the utmost management, both of Sir Sydney and Poussielque, to keep him at all within bounds, or make him come to any reasonable terms. The negotiations were at one time broken off for three days by his violence. After making two demands, which were refused, as the price of their evacuation of Egypt—one of which was that Russia should be detached from the triple alliance with Turkey, and the other, that the islands of Cephalonia, Corfu, Zante, and Malta should be restored to them — the articles finally agreed to were signed, and exchanged a few days afterwards in the Vizier's camp. By this treaty there is to be a truce for three months between the Turks and the French. The latter are to evacuate the different ports in Egypt at the several periods stated in the treaty, allowing the time the Vizier will take to march towards the westward and southward to each place, for the period of evacuating such place—beginning with Salahie, Katieh, Damietta, and ending with Alexandria, which is to be evacuated in three months. A further period is allowed in case the Turks shall not have furnished shipping, which by the treaty they are bound to do. After all the transports which the French have in Alexandria shall be loaded, the English Commander is to take care that they are conveyed unmolested to France. The Turks are to pay 3000 purses, of 500 piastres each, at different periods mentioned: and the French are allowed to take with them all their property, including 2000 horses, and they are to be supplied with provisions for man and horse for three months while they remain in Egypt, and for three months more when embarked. The Theseus sailed the day before yesterday, to convey the first division as far as the westward of Candia, to such a distance that there may be no danger of their running into a Turkish port.

"Our departure from Constantinople was as secret as sudden. Lord Elgin had heard of the wishes of the French to negotiate, but thought that Sir Sydney was making an improper use of his command in this quarter, and of the influence he had acquired. For this reason he obtained, with some difficulty, the consent of the Porte that the General should go to the army in order to counteract this influence,—order Sir Sydney on board his ship, if there should be a necessity,—and, in case hostilities went on, assist the Turks with his advice, which it seems they have been much in want of. And in the last case he thought it right that the General should have the assistance of an officer of each department, Artillery and Engineers. This was the cause of my making the journey. Lord Elgin was glad, too, of the opportunity of getting as many of the military officers of the mission as possible down to the army, which the Porte have all along opposed, at the instigation of the English minister, Mr. J. Smith, who is brother of Sir Sydney. The ship, with the rest of the mission, was to be sent for, if the General saw occasion on his arrival.

"A week after we left Constantinople, Lord Elgin found a pretence for sending Captain Lacy, of the Engineers, charged with the intercepted dispatches of Kleber to the French Government, giving a wretched account of their situation in Egypt. He overtook us at Larendeh. We came to this island together, where we first heard of the conclusion of the treaty: but as it remains a matter of doubt whether our presence will now be of any use in Egypt, he has proceeded on his journey thither without us."

The question with regard to their further progress having been decided in the negative, the whole party after a few days set out on their return to Constantinople; those few days having been employed by Captain Leake

in satisfying himself as to the site of the ancient Citium of Cyprus, the Chittim mentioned in Scripture. They had scarcely, however, crossed over to the mainland of Cilicia, when Captain Leake was taken ill; and while General Koehler and his companions proceeded by nearly the same route which had been travelled over by them a few weeks before, Captain Leake preferred a sea voyage, and gained thereby the opportunity of visiting many of the islands, as well as some of the ancient sites along the coast. Among the latter were the ruins of the cities of Telmessus in Lycia, and Assus in Mysia—in the latter of which he congratulated himself on having discovered " perhaps the most perfect idea of a Greek city that anywhere exists."—He did not arrive at Constantinople until the month of June.

It is probable that the impressions received since he had left Constantinople, a few months before, exercised a powerful influence upon Captain Leake's thoughts and pursuits during the remainder of his long life. Before the school-boy reminiscences of Homer and Herodotus had been effaced from his mind, he found himself treading upon what was regarded as classic soil. Looking onward to the East—as he describes it in his journal—he saw nothing to interrupt the vast expanse until his eye lighted upon the majestic and snow-clad summits of Mount Argæus, standing out distinctly through the clear atmosphere, although at a distance of not less than one hundred and fifty miles in a straight line. Looking at the plain under his feet, he saw it covered with scattered fragments of Greek architecture, Greek altars, stones bearing Greek inscriptions, sculptures, and sarcophagi:—as they trod over the sites of ancient cities, this would be the case for miles. Like the celebrated Flemish scholar and statesman, Busbecq, who had travelled over a portion of the same route two centuries and a half before him, he was struck with amazement as he contemplated the multitudinous wreck of ancient grandeur that met his eye at every turn: " parietinas et rudera,

hoc est epistyliorum et columnarum fragmenta, sola ex veteri splendore reliqua."*

During Busbecq's journey into the interior of Asia Minor it was his good fortune to render an important service to literature by bringing to light the celebrated Marmor Ancyranum, a contemporaneous record of the actions of the Emperor Augustus: and the present expedition of the young English officer of artillery was rendered memorable by the discovery in Phrygia of a very remarkable inscription in Greek characters, which is probably the earliest Greek inscription extant.

In a secluded and romantic valley bearing the name of Doganlu, surrounded by pine forests, and by some who have seen it compared to the valley described in Johnson's "Rasselas," the party came upon several lofty and isolated rocks, which had been excavated for purposes of sepulture. Upon one of these rocks, the flat surface of a perpendicular escarpment upwards of sixty feet in height had been covered with a singular species of ornamental work, and surmounted by a pediment or cornice. At first sight the travellers thought that they had lighted upon a monument of some of the early Persians. The appearance, however, of an inscription in Greek characters set them right upon this point, and by further investigation it was ascertained that the monument had been erected in honour of a Phrygian monarch of the ancient dynasty of Midas, probably seven or eight centuries before the Christian era. The distinction of having been the first to publish and to decipher this inscription was one which Colonel Leake carefully placed upon record, and upon which he prided himself to the last.†

* Busbequii Legationis Turcicæ, Epist. I.

† See "Numismata Hellenica," Asiatic Greece, p. 86; also, "Journal of Classical and Sacred Philology," Cambridge, No. XII. p. 242.

In order to carry on the thread of our narrative, it must be understood that the treaty mentioned a few pages back as having been concluded by the mediation of Sir Sydney Smith for the evacuation of Egypt by the French army, was not allowed to take effect: it being deemed impolitic by the authorities to suffer Buonaparte's position in Europe at the present crisis to be strengthened by a reinforcement of not less than 20,000 men. Sir Sydney Smith's treaty therefore was ignored; and orders were sent to the Commander-in-chief in the Mediterranean that he should not permit the departure of any French troops until they had been exchanged in Europe as prisoners of war. Upon this Kleber immediately recommenced hostilities. The undisciplined army of the Grand Vizier were easily routed, and he was driven to take refuge in Jaffa.

For the second time, therefore, Captain Leake received instructions to join the Grand Vizier's army, and very shortly after his arrival at Constantinople he set out again for Jaffa, by way of Athens, Smyrna, and Cyprus. He remained at Jaffa during the whole of the ensuing winter, making excursions from time to time into various parts of Syria and Palestine.

In March, 1801, Captain Leake crossed the desert with the Turkish army into Egypt. The vigorous efforts of Lord Keith and Sir Ralph Abercrombie just at this period succeeded in obliging the enemy to capitulate, and in a short time afterwards the country was cleared of its invaders.

Until March, 1802, Captain Leake was employed, in conjunction with Lord Elgin's private secretary Mr. William Richard Hamilton, in making a general survey of Egypt, for which purpose they went as far south as the cataracts of the Nile. He then revisited Syria, continuing in that country the researches upon which he had been engaged in Egypt.

"Victory, at Sea, 2nd September, 1804.

"SIR,

"Lord Elgin having requested through Sir Alexander Ball that I would allow a ship to call at Cerigo, to bring from thence to Malta some marble antiquities, and as I am perfectly disposed to meet his Lordship's wishes on this occasion, I am to desire you will send a small transport to Cerigo, with the first convoy going up to the Levant, and leave her there, for the purpose of receiving the antiquities before-mentioned on board—provided it is a safe place for her to remain at—till the return of the convoy. You will then direct the officer in charge thereof to call at Cerigo, and bring the transport with his Lordship's antiquities on board safe under his protection to Malta, where Sir Alexander Ball will direct the disposal of them. And if it is intended to send them to England, you will give the necessary orders accordingly.

"I am, &c. &c.

"NELSON and BRONTE."

After the shipwreck off Cerigo, Captain Leake proceeded to Trieste and thence to Venice; travelling homeward through Padua, Verona, Milan, Turin, and by the pass of Mont Cenis to Lyons and Paris, he arrived in London in January, 1803.

In September, 1804, Captain Leake again left England, charged with two commissions of considerable importance: the one—to make a survey of the military capabilities of the island of Sardinia, with a view to its being secured from falling into the hands of the French; and the other—to treat with the governors of the provinces of European Turkey, in regard to the defence of their frontier against any possible French aggression.

The first of the missions was decided upon by the Government in consequence of a series of urgent appeals made to them by Lord Nelson, who at that time was engaged in watching the French squadron in Toulon. A glance at Lord Nelson's official letters will show his views upon the subject.

In writing to Lord Hobart, the Secretary of State for the War Department, after alluding to what he had stated in former letters respecting the island of Sardinia and its "immense importance," Lord Nelson says that it is his duty to bring forward the subject afresh, and to tell the Government plainly that if we do not "take it by treaty, or some other way," it must inevitably fall into the hands of the French. "The question is not, shall the King of Sardinia keep it? That is out of the question. He cannot for any length of time. If France possesses it, Sicily is not safe for an hour; and the passage to the Levant is completely blocked up."—To Lord Hawkesbury he writes that the deplorable state of the finances of the island is represented to him by the officials themselves; and that "if the French make a landing, Sardinia is gone; not from their regard to the French, for I am sure that the greater part hate them. But the islanders must be released from their present miserable condition."

In spite, however, of these strong representations, and of Lord Nelson's eagerness to take possession of the island either by treaty or "some other way," Mr. Pitt's ministry thought it better to proceed cautiously. In process of time they directed Captain Leake—who had already received his instructions to proceed upon the mission into European Turkey—to take Sardinia in his way; and in case Lord Nelson should think it advisable, to explore certain parts of the island, and more especially the Fortress of Cagliari, and the Islands of Madalena; and to ascertain whether, if it were taken possession of by such a force as could conveniently be spared for the purpose, there would be a probability of retaining that possession.

In a letter from Earl Camden to Lord Nelson himself, of which Captain Leake was the bearer, while he was enjoined not to omit any means within his power to prevent " so serious a misfortune to this country as the islands of Sardinia or Sicily falling into the hands of France," the Government expressed their desire to become better acquainted with the military capabilities of Sardinia.—" Whenever, from Captain Leake's report, or from any other source on which you may depend, your Lordship is enabled to give a more minute and detailed account of the island, both with regard to the opportunity which is afforded to take possession of it, and also to retain it afterwards, you will give me the earliest information of these circumstances."

Besides this letter from the War Secretary, Captain Leake carried with him the following letter to Lord Nelson from Lord Harrowby, the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs:—

" — This letter will be delivered to you by Captain Leake, of the Royal Artillery, an officer of distinguished merit, who served with the Turkish army in Egypt. He is directed to proceed upon a military mission to Albania and the Morea, for purposes fully detailed in instructions which he will communicate to your Lordship. He is also directed to put himself under your orders, in case you should think it advisable to ascertain with more precision, by the assistance of his professional knowledge, various points respecting the island of Sardinia, that are specified in a memorandum which I have put into his hands, or any other points on which you may think it desirable that further information should be obtained. You will, no doubt, be sensible that a mission of this nature will require considerable address and caution in the execution; as for various reasons, which I cannot now detail, no communication has been, or can well be, made to the King of Sardinia, or to his minister here, upon such a subject. Captain Leake

must be considered, in case you think it proper he should proceed, as acting under your Lordship's orders only. The frequent communications which you must necessarily have with different ports of the island of Sardinia, will enable you to direct the conduct of Captain Leake and of any naval officer whom he may accompany, in such a manner as to give the least possible occasion to jealousy or alarm. It is peculiarly important that no premature suspicion should arise of the occupation in any contingency of any part of Sardinia by British troops, as such a suspicion would only hasten the attack of the French."

Upon Captain Leake's arrival in the Mediterranean in H. M. S. Tigre, he was received by Lord Nelson on board the Victory with much personal consideration, and he remained there a week: doubtless the letter which Captain Leake brought from Lord Harrowby would have been received by Lord Nelson with more satisfaction if it had contained orders that Sardinia should be occupied forthwith. As to the survey of the island, it had been made half a year before under his Lordship's own directions.—" We know everything respecting Sardinia which is necessary," he writes in reply, "namely, that it has no money, no troops, no means of defence."—" Another officer's going there would probably hasten the French views upon it."—" The French mean to make Sassari the seat of government."

In reference to Captain Leake himself Lord Nelson writes to Earl Camden,—" Captain Leake is going on to Malta, Corfu, &c. I received him with that openness which was necessary to make myself as well acquainted with him in three days, as others might do in as many years. I have given him all the knowledge of the men, their views, &c. &c. as I have been able to form a judgment."

Without further delay Captain Leake sailed in the Sea-horse frigate to Malta, thence proceeding with as much expedition as possible to Corfu.

From Corfu he sailed to Zante, and landed in February, 1805, upon the coast of the Morea.

The precise character of Captain Leake's mission to the European provinces of Turkey will appear from Lord Harrowby's instructions, which bear the date of Downing Street, August 28th, 1804.

"SIR,

"As the defence of the Grecian frontier of the Turkish empire against the threatened attacks of the French is an object of great importance, His Majesty's Government has thought it advisable that some military person should be sent into those parts, and as His Majesty has been graciously pleased to make choice of you for this purpose, I think it necessary to give you the following instructions for the regulation of your conduct.

"First.—You are to make yourself acquainted with the Western coast of Albania and the Morea, and particularly with those points which are more immediately exposed, either by their vicinity to the Italian coast, or by the facilities which they afford to the landing of an enemy.

"Second.—You will suggest to the Turkish Commanders in that part of the country any improvements for the defence of those places which you think they may have the means of executing.

"Third.—With the assistance of the Royal Military surveyor and draughtsman who accompanies you, or, in case none such should be appointed, with the assistance of such other person whom you may be authorised to engage for the purpose, you will take surveys, and lay down plans of the same places, whenever such an operation can be conducted without the fear of exciting jealousy and displeasure in the people of the country; for the facilitating which object H. M.'s Minister at the Porte will be instructed to apply for the necessary firmans.

"Fourth.—You will visit all the fortifications upon the same coast, in order to ascertain whether their state of repair is such as will adapt them for resistance; whether their wants are such as can be easily removed; and, in concert with Mr. Morier, you will endeavour to induce the Turkish governors to take the speediest measures in their power for supplying them at the most important points:—and also give such information to H. M.'s Minister at the Porte as may assist him in furthering the same object, in case he should deem it advisable.

"Fifth.—Having procured sufficient information relative to the coast, you will proceed into the interior, for the purpose of acquiring that general knowledge of the face of the country, which would be indispensably necessary to the success of military operations, in case the enemy should effect a landing on the coast:—to reduce these observations to a form of permanent utility by means of the surveyor who accompanies you; and, in particular, to take notice of the roads and passes leading towards Constantinople on the one side and to the Morea on the other:—to observe the obstacles which an invader would have to encounter in advancing towards either place, and the means of rendering those obstacles effectual.

"Sixth.—You will repair to Ali Pasha, or the Beglerbey of Roumelia, and offer your opinion and advice upon the general plan of defence for their territories, the distribution of their troops, and the best mode of putting their harbours, ports, and passes, in a respectable state. You will supply them with every assistance in your power towards the arrangement and improvement of their artillery; and generally advise with them upon all the military concerns of their extensive governments, as far as relates to their security against the hostile menaces of the French.

"Seventh.—Having completed these objects in Northern Greece, you will proceed to Corinth, to examine into the most essential deficiencies of

that formidable and important post, with a view to their being supplied as speedily as possible. You will urge the Turkish commanders to place an able garrison in that fortress; to secure the difficult passes which lead to it from the northward, and eventually to establish an intrenched camp at the Isthmus.

"Eighth.—You will visit all the other points of importance in the peninsula of the Morea, and, in particular, the fortresses of Venetian construction, for the same purposes as those specified in the preceding articles respecting Corinth and the places on the western coast.

"Ninth.—In the course of these journeys you will observe and report the political and military dispositions of the inhabitants.

"Tenth.—In pursuit of the same objects, you will pay particular attention to the general geography of Greece, with a view to acquire for the British Government and nation a more accurate knowledge than has yet been attained, of this important and interesting country. But this object must only be pursued in subordination to the main design of your mission, from which it must not be allowed to divert your attention.

"Eleventh.—In case the enemy should actually effect a landing in Greece, and the Russian army in Corfu should take an active part in frustrating their designs upon the Turkish empire, you will offer to the Russian general every assistance which your knowledge of the country may enable you to afford. And you will endeavour to maintain a personal influence, as well with the chief commander of the Turkish forces, as with the independent chieftains whose combined troops compose them. You will especially make use of this influence in persuading them to pay attention to their depôts, supplies, and resources of every kind.

"Twelfth.—You will correspond with Mr. Arbuthnot, Mr. Morier, and Mr. Foresti, upon any points which may be important for their information.

And by every safe and favourable opportunity you will report the result of your observations to Sir Alexander Ball, Lord Nelson, and to this Office.

"I am, Sir,

"Your obedient humble servant,

"HARROWBY.

"Captain W. M. Leake, Royal Artillery."

In order to expedite Captain Leake's progress, he was furnished by Lord Nelson with letters to the captain or commander of any of His Majesty's ships employed in the Adriatic, giving them particular directions that in case of Captain Leake's making application to be removed to any place in the Morea or in Albania, they should, if possible, comply with his request. Lord Nelson also wrote letters of introduction for Captain Leake to those official persons at Malta, and elsewhere, with whom it was desirable that he should become acquainted. In these letters he is spoken of as "most strongly recommended to me by Government," and "perfectly in their confidence;" and it is added, "from the little I have seen of him, I think he merits their confidence." The object of his mission to Greece is stated to be "to look about him, and give opinions, that we may know what is really going forward with the Russians, &c., &c."

Before Captain Leake had reached the continent of Greece, he was overtaken by a letter from Sir Alexander Ball, the Governor and British Plenipotentiary at Malta, containing a proposition that he should commence his duties by visiting the coast of the Black Sea. A few months before this an emissary had been sent by Lord Nelson to the Black Sea, with "most secret" instructions to ascertain what armaments the Russians were forming at Sebastopol and Cherson, and whether those armaments were intended to oppose any attempts which may be made upon the Morea by the French.

Whatever may have been the precise object of the mission proposed to Captain Leake, it appears from the following letter that his more immediate duties on the coasts of Albania and the Morea would not allow of his undertaking that mission.

"Malta, 18 January, 1805.

"My dear Sir,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 6th of last month, acquainting me that the mission with which you are charged by Lord Harrowby will not permit you to visit the coast of the Black Sea in the ensuing spring, and that the attention requisite to the execution of my important commission will be incompatible with the activity necessary even for defensive operations in your quarter, when war is declared between the Turks and the French.

"I am extremely sorry that the present state of affairs will prevent your undertaking the commission, as it would have been highly satisfactory to me, as well as to the Government, to have a person of your abilities and high character employed in so important a commission. It is my anxious wish to engage in this business different persons of established character to do away with every suspicion of collusion.

"The convoy from England, which sailed the 28th of November, arrived here the 12th instant, in which your servant and your baggage came. I have ordered Lieutenant Spencer, commanding the Reynard, to give him a passage to Corfu. I send you some Gazettes. I shall be happy to hear from you, and to execute any commands you may have.

"I have the honour to be, &c., &c.,

"ALEXANDER J. BALL."

From February 1805 until the same month in the year 1807, Captain Leake was almost constantly engaged in traversing Northern Greece and the Morea in pursuance of his official instructions; and while thus discharging the more immediate duties of his mission with an efficiency that procured for him the special and entire approval of the Government, he did not lose sight of the intimation given in his instructions that it would be expected of him "to pay particular attention to the general geography of Greece, with a view to acquire a more accurate knowledge than had hitherto been attained of that important and interesting country." Captain Leake saw at once what might be done in this department, and he achieved it with pre-eminent success. In tracing and identifying the sites of many ancient and historic cities,—in determining the precise scene of action in great battles,—in clearing away difficulties that encumbered the geography of the country,—and in deciphering the inscribed marbles upon which the ancient Greeks were accustomed to record their public and political transactions,—he exercised unceasingly that wonderful sagacity and ability for research, for which a nobler field could not have existed than that which lay now before him.

That any one travelling over Greece should regard with interest the numerous pieces of coin turned up by the plough, perhaps before his eyes, upon the site of an ancient city, seems to be a matter of course. Such pieces of coin have sometimes proved to the geographer a means of ascertaining the name of the city; inasmuch as the copper and the smaller silver coin seldom travelled to any great distance from the place where they were current. The experience of travellers bears strongly upon this point; and, on the other hand, in cases where a particular class of coins without name have been found plentifully upon the site of a known city, it has generally been proved afterwards by independent evidence that the coins in question belonged to that city.

In some instances, also, Captain Leake succeeded in the discovery and identification of the site of an ancient city upon a spot where not a fragment of any thing like architecture remained upon the surface; being led to make excavations solely by the fact of the frequent appearance of coins in the soil. This was the case in regard to the site of Heracleia, the principal town of Sintice in Thrace. And a remarkable instance is recorded by him of the recovery, by means of coins and inscriptions, of both the site and the name of a certain ancient city, in a case where it was actually unknown to geographers that such a city had ever existed.

Having frequently met with coins on the confines of Thessaly and Epirus bearing the name of Cierium, Captain Leake was led to infer that a city called Cierium had once existed in that neighbourhood, and that it was a city of some importance, although never mentioned in the extant writings of antiquity. At length, upon a spot where these coins were met with in more than usual abundance, he discovered in the wall of the village church an ancient inscription relating to the boundaries between the lands of a city called Cierium and those of another city called Metropolis. Now that a city called Metropolis once existed in this locality was previously well known. At the village, therefore, called Mataranga, where this inscription and these coins were found, there being also numerous architectural fragments indicating an ancient site, Captain Leake concluded upon fixing the site of the hitherto unknown city of Cierium; and subsequent geographers have agreed with him in this decision.

But this is not all. Thucydides mentions a city in these parts called *Pierium*. Livy mentions a city also of Thessaly called *Piera*, or *Pieria*. And we know that the Greek letters K and Π were in some instances interchangeable. Hence Müller threw out the suggestion that in the Cierium of Leake we have the Pieria of Livy and the Pierium of Thucydides.

Müller's suggestion will probably be admitted henceforward as a geographical fact, and it will be allowed that we are indebted for it primarily to the evidence of coins.

It was at the village of Mataranga that Captain Leake procured most of the coins of Cierium which are found in his collection and described in his "Numismata Hellenica." Such opportunities as this of securing the coins of Greek cities *in situ* would make a man a collector in spite of himself: and every true numismatist will sympathize with Captain Leake's sorrow on finding repeated instances of the ruthless melting down of gold and silver coins by the provincial goldsmiths, whenever it occurred that there was no immediate chance of disposing of them to some itinerant Frank, or of transmitting them to an agent at Constantinople.

Captain Leake found that the copper coins which were turned up in vast numbers in Thessaly and Macedonia were generally converted by the brazier into kettles and caldrons. This was precisely what Busbecq complained of as taking place in Asia Minor some centuries before. He records, with some satisfaction, the revenge which he took upon a certain coppersmith, who confessed that he had done this, at Amasia in Pontus.—"Faber quidam ærarius mihi magnopere movit stomachum. Cum numismata requireremus, ingentem se ollam paucis ante diebus habuisse narrabat, ex quibus lebetes œneos aliquot conflasset, quod nullum eorum aut usum aut pretium putaret esse. Sanè magno mihi erat dolori tantum periisse antiquitatis. Sed illum ego ita ultus sum ut dicerem me centum aureos pro iis, superessent modò, numeraturum. Sic illum non minus amisso eo à faucibus bolo tristem à me dimisi, quam ille me eâ vetustatis jacturâ commoverat."—*Leg. Turc.* p. 53.

In the month of February, 1807, the British diplomatists at the Porte having failed in their efforts to preserve peace between the Porte and Russia, Sir John Duckworth entered the Strait of the Dardanelles with his squadron, and a declaration of war was made between the Porte and England. In consequence of this, Captain Leake found himself detained for several months as a prisoner at Saloniki. On regaining his liberty, he sailed at once to the coast of Epirus, and there he had a conference not less important in its results than romantic in its circumstances, with Ali, the celebrated Pacha of Albania.

This conference took place on the night of November 12th, near the remains of the ancient city of Nicopolis. In the early part of the day a person had been sent on shore by Captain Leake to make arrangements for the interview, and this messenger was met by one of Ali's secretaries, who gave him confidential instructions as to the part he was to play in a scene which was to be enacted by himself and the Pacha for the mystification of the French consul. He was to assume, in the presence of the French consul, that England and the Porte were at peace, and to ask permission to purchase provisions. In due course the messenger was ushered into Ali's presence, who sat with the French consul at his side, and he proceeded to act according to his instructions. The request for leave to purchase provisions was met by Ali with a peremptory refusal; and he added, with much haughtiness, that the two nations were still at war, and that the petitioner might consider himself fortunate in being allowed to return to the ship, with an understanding that she should quit the coast immediately. The interview was then broken off, and the man took his departure.

Scarcely, however, had he arrived at the beach, when Ali's secretary overtook him bearing a special message to Captain Leake himself, who was instructed to meet the Pacha that very evening on a certain spot by the

sea-side near Nicopolis. As the evening drew on the weather became very stormy; it was deemed unsafe to anchor, and there was doubt whether the ship could remain on the coast. And when night came, had not Ali caused a fire to be lighted on the beach and muskets discharged, the boatmen would not have been able in the darkness to find the place of rendezvous. After they had landed, the Pacha was discovered seated under a cliff and attended by two of his most confidential officers, with guards stationed at a short distance. He had got rid of the French consul by an artifice, and was now at liberty to act upon his predilections for a British alliance without fear or restraint.

The conference resulted in an engagement on the part of Ali to use all his influence to effect a reconciliation with the Porte. It lasted for two hours. When they broke up, the surf had become so dangerous, and the night so dark, that it was found almost impossible to reach the ship. The lightning, however, befriended them; and with a tedious drenching from the sea and the rain they succeeded in getting on board, and the Delight stood away from the coast.

It was the wish of Sir Arthur Paget, the British envoy at the Porte, who had intrusted Captain Leake with this important mission to the Pacha of Albania, that he should negotiate with others also of the Turkish governors of the provinces if it were thought expedient.

" — It is very desirable, and you are hereby fully authorised, to make the same friendly offers on the part of His Majesty, to any other of the governors of the Turkish provinces in Europe, with whom in your judgement, from your local knowledge, you may think it expedient to enter into negotiation. You will at once feel the great importance of exciting these

Pachas to resist to the uttermost the prosecution of the dangerous designs which Russia and France are meditating conjointly against the Turkish empire. I trust that the state of your health will allow you to undertake this interesting mission. If, contrary to hope and expectation, it should not be in your power, you will be so good as to repair without loss of time to Malta, and to communicate to Mr. Morier the reasons of your arrival there, as in that case he will be instructed to proceed in the important business in question.

"I am sorry to add that the negotiation with the Porte, with which I was charged, has been broken off, and that I am just getting under weigh to return to England."

Captain Leake's health had suffered so much from a severe illness at Apollonia in the autumn of 1805, that he found it necessary to recruit it by a season of rest, and after bringing to a successful issue the most important of the negotiations with which Sir Arthur Paget had entrusted him, he sailed at once to Syracuse to make his report to Lord Collingwood, and then proceeded to England.

The terms of his engagement made by Ali Pacha with Captain Leake upon the sea-beach at Nicopolis were so effectually carried out, that in the course of the ensuing summer the Porte and the British Government were once more at peace.

Ali, however, even before the treaty had been signed, determined at all hazards to resist the aggressions of the French upon his own territory, and he applied to the British Government for help. Said Akhmet Effendi, one of his most confidential servants, was dispatched to London, charged with verbal communications as well as with a formal epistle to the King, of which the following is a translation.

" To the greatest of the Kings of Europe,—the Monarch who rules over the Ocean,—the chief of the Sovereigns of the Religion of Jesus,—the greatest in Majesty and Power,—the mighty Protector of his Allies,—The King of England.

" SIR,

" With a veneration the most profound, and a love which is deeply rooted in my heart and mixed with my blood, I presume to address your Majesty as an humble slave, ready to execute your Majesty's commands.

" At the time, Sir, that your Majesty's late ambassador was sent to Constantinople, I wrote to my Government entreating it to make peace, because not an enmity but only a coolness had arisen between the two courts, and no real war could ever take place between friends whose natural union was so firmly rooted that it could not be shaken by trifling misunderstandings. This truth is so undoubted, that the delay which has occurred by some unfortunate accidents cannot be considered as of any importance, nor can it prevent the final adjustment of every difference. It is on this account that I have requested my government to ask for peace, and my request has been complied with.

" The Porte, well assured of the sincerity of my attachment to your Majesty, has thought fit to depute me to send to London a person of my own nomination with the papers which it transmits to Sidki Effendi, who is especially charged with the affairs of my Government in England.

" In obedience to their desires I have dispatched Said Akhmet Effendi, a person acting in my confidence and particularly in my most intimate counsels. Captain Leake, your Majesty's servant and my friend, received from me in person the intimation of all my wishes, and has undoubtedly made your Majesty acquainted with them. Said Akhmet Effendi upon his

arrival in London will also inform your Majesty of all that I have charged him with verbally and in the greatest confidence:—and your Majesty may consider it as coming from my own mouth.

"I entreat your Majesty to take into your serious consideration what he shall tell you. And I humbly hope that your Majesty will send him back with the pleasing intelligence of the accomplishment of my desires.

"Of the greatest of the Kings of Europe,—the Monarch who rules over the ocean,—the Chief of the Sovereigns of the Religion of Jesus,—the greatest in majesty and power,—the mighty Protector of his Allies,—the King of England,—

"The devoted Servant,

"ALI, Governor of, &c. &c."

In compliance with the wishes of their new ally the Government decided upon sending off to Greece a large quantity of artillery and ammunition; Captain Leake, whose health was now recruited, being commissioned to present the ordnance stores to Ali himself in person in the name of His Majesty. He was also charged with fresh instructions, which are contained in the following document issued to him from the Foreign Office by Mr. Secretary Canning:

"Foreign Office, October 21, 1808.

"SIR,

"The King has been pleased to appoint you to proceed to the Mediterranean for the purpose of availing yourself of any occasion which may arise to enter into communication with Ali Pacha of Joannina, in consequence of the application of that Chieftain for His Majesty's assistance against the French.

"I have received His Majesty's commands to transmit to you the following instructions, for the purpose of enabling you to execute the commission which His Majesty has been pleased to entrust to you.

"You will embark at Portsmouth on board of any ship of war which the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty may appoint to receive you, and to take charge of the vessel laden with the ordnance stores intended to be presented in His Majesty's name to Ali Pacha.

"The artillery, ammunition, and stores, embarked on board this vessel, are enumerated in the annexed list.

"You will, in the first instance, land at Malta, where you will learn what progress has been made in the negotiations with the Porte which Mr. Adair was sent to open, at the invitation of the Turkish Government conveyed to His Majesty's Government through Ali Pacha.

"Should the negotiations have terminated in peace, you will proceed without delay to the Pacha's territories.

"In any other case you will concert with Mr. Adair,—or in his absence with Lord Collingwood, or the Commanding Officer of His Majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, or Sir Alexander Ball, or with such one of them as may be at Malta,—the measures to be adopted. If it shall appear that Ali Pacha is determined to attack the French in his neighbourhood, or to defend his territories against them, although peace between Great Britain and the Porte shall not have been concluded, you are still at liberty to communicate with him;—if Mr. Adair, or in his absence Lord Collingwood, Sir Alexander Ball, or such of them as you have an opportunity of consulting, concur with you in thinking it advisable.

"Upon your arrival off the coast of Albania you will find means of notifying to Ali Pacha the object of your mission; and upon being admitted to an interview with him, you will present to His Highness a list of

the ordnance stores entrusted to your care; and you will avail yourself of the favourable impression which will undoubtedly be made upon His Highness's mind by this evidence of His Majesty's attention to his wants and solicitations, to urge him to a vigorous prosecution of offensive operations against the common enemy.

" You will endeavour to prevail upon Ali Pacha to make use of his influence for uniting the other Albanian Chieftains against the French; especially for persuading the Vizier, the Pacha of Scutari, to act offensively against the French troops bordering upon his province on the side of the Bocche di Cattaro and Dalmatia: and for the furtherance of these views you may, if you find it expedient, and if it could be done without offence to Ali Pacha, retain a small part of the artillery and stores committed to your charge, to be presented to the Pacha of Scutari.

" Should Ali Pacha determine upon commencing hostilities against the French, the Commander-in-chief of His Majesty's naval forces in the Mediterranean has been instructed to employ his ships on that station in effecting, if practicable, the reduction of the French garrison in the town of Parga.

" Which instruction you will represent to have been given in consequence of Ali Pacha's request through the Said Akhmet; and with the view of putting him in possession of a port which he has represented as so important to the security of his country; and as a fresh proof of His Majesty's friendship and attention to Ali Pacha's interests and wishes.

" If the peace should have been concluded between His Majesty and the Ottoman Porte, and should be followed by war between the Porte and France, Ali Pacha will probably be disposed to extend his operations beyond his own immediate frontiers, and to exert his power and resources in annoying the enemy in the Seven Islands. In that event you will acquaint

His Highness that our ships of war upon the coast of Albania are directed to co-operate with him for the same purpose.

" A copy of these instructions is transmitted to Mr. Adair, under whose immediate superintendence you will consider yourself as acting whenever you have the opportunity of communicating with him. You will communicate them to Lord Collingwood and Sir Alexander Ball, in order that you may have the benefit of their advice assistance and co-operation in devising the best modes of effecting the objects of your mission. And you will take every opportunity of informing Mr. Adair of the progress of your communications with Ali Pacha.

" I am, with great truth and regard, &c.

" GEORGE CANNING.

" Captain Leake, &c.

Captain Leake arrived at Prevyza in February, 1809, and from that time until March, 1810, he had his usual residence either at Prevyza or Joannina, making frequent excursions into the districts of Epirus and Thessaly which he had not visited before. It was during his official residence at Joannina that a visit was paid to the court of Ali Pacha by the author of " Childe Harold." Lord Byron's formal introduction to Ali,—who had been previously informed by Captain Leake, " the English minister," of his being " of a great family"—was described by himself in a letter to his mother: and in a note to " Childe Harold" he records with satisfaction upon Captain Leake's authority the fact that he had advanced farther into the interior of Greece than any former traveller, excepting Captain Leake himself. The casual meeting of these two Englishmen at the semi-barbaric court of Joannina gives rise to a train of reflections. Neither of the two

had as yet been much heard of among their countrymen, and yet both after a while became men of note. In the constitution of their minds no two men could have been more unlike each other. The one was accurate, logical, and pre-eminently matter-of-fact: the other was imaginative and excursive. The one found his amusement in exploring the ruins of ancient cities, in identifying ancient sites, and in comparing what lay before his eyes with what he read of in the descriptions of Strabo or Pausanias: the other, as Leake himself used to say, turned aside from the contemplation of nearer objects and from the conversation of those about him, to gaze with an air *distrait* and dreamy upon the distant mountains. The one was engaged in collecting materials for those elaborate volumes which have now become a text-book to the Greek archæologist: the other was filling his mind with those images of

> "——Stern Albania's hills,
> Dark Suli's rocks, and Pindus' inland peak
> Robed half in mist, bedewed with snowy rills,
> Arrayed in many a dun and purple streak—"

which were afterwards transferred by him to the pages of the second canto of his "Childe Harold."

Nevertheless, these spirits so divergent for the most part were agreed in one respect: each saw that the Greeks were cruelly oppressed by their Turkish rulers; each looked upon them as betrayed by the great Powers of Europe who ought to have befriended them; each resolved to devote all his energies to their deliverance. An expression of this devotedness was recorded among the last actions of his life by each of them. The one, in certain stanzas written at Missolonghi, expressed his determination to give up to the cause of Greece whatever portion of life might still remain to him; and the other, in his "Numismata Hellenica," solemnly recorded the fact of his having devoted

the labour and research of sixty years to the enlightenment of the Greeks in regard to the history and geography of the countries which were civilized by their "unrivalled" ancestors.* In a generous indulgence for the weakness of the modern Greek people, and in a fearless advocacy of their claims upon the sympathy of the British Government, Leake was consistent to the last. These motives suggested many of his lesser writings, and throughout life gave a colour to his conversation.

Captain Leake had now attained the rank of major in his regiment; and on his return to England His Majesty's Government, taking into consideration the services on which he had been employed in Turkey since the year 1798, thought it "just and reasonable that he should continue to receive a certain proportion of his former allowances." In pursuance of this decision a letter was addressed to the Lords Commissioners of the Treasury by Lord Castlereagh at the Foreign Office, on April 21st, 1812, desiring their Lordships to "be pleased to receive the pleasure of H. R. Highness the Prince Regent, on the behalf of His Majesty, with respect to the granting to Major Leake an allowance of £600 per annum, nett: the same to commence from the 5th day of January last:" which allowance was submitted to Parliament in the estimates of the next session by the Secretary at War.

On June 4, 1813, Major Leake received for his services the brevet rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

He was now engaged in arranging the large collection of geographical materials which he had brought home with him from Turkey, with a view to render them available for purposes of general information and usefulness. It was his original intention to give to the world the result of his inquiries in the successive parts of a continuous work, to be entitled, "Researches in

* Preface to Supplement, p. iii.

Greece;" and in 1814 was published the first part of this work. In this volume the author confined himself to the modern Greek language and dialects; discussing at some length the structure and etymology of the Romaic, the modern pronunciation of the Greek letters, and the accentual mode of reading Greek. He remarked that already the Romaic language had been much purified and refined, without becoming unintelligible to the common people: and he expressed his conviction, "that with the advantage it possesses of retaining a close affinity with the ancient Greek, and at the same time with the languages of modern Europe, and its consequent facility of receiving beauties from both, it may become equal, if not superior, to any modern European dialect." He showed that during the preceding half century an improvement in the moral condition of the Greeks had been going on *pari passu* with the gradual extension of education and literature, and he argued that the only sure plan by which the Greeks could hope to better their condition was that upon which they were already acting, namely, the careful education of their youth.

These literary occupations, however, were speedily interrupted by the great military movements which took place throughout Europe in consequence of the escape of Bonaparte from Elba early in the ensuing year. From the following official letter it will be seen that Colonel Leake was appointed to attend upon the army of the Swiss Confederation, then assembled near the French frontier under the command of the Austrian Archduke John.

"Foreign Office, May 8, 1815.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that His Royal Highness the Prince Regent has been graciously pleased to appoint you to reside at the

head quarters of the army of the Swiss Confederation, now assembling on the frontiers of France for the purpose of defending the Swiss frontier against any attack which may be made upon it by the French troops.

" I am, therefore, to desire that you will immediately proceed to that destination; and on delivering the accompanying duplicate of my dispatch of this date to Mr. Canning, you will request him to introduce you to the Government at Zurich, or to the principal authorities of the place where he may be resident, and to obtain for you the requisite permission to reside at the head quarters of the Swiss army.

" It will be your duty, in the execution of this service, to obtain every possible information with regard to the situation, strength, and construction of the Swiss army; the state of the fortresses in the neighbourhood; the force and movements of the enemy, and on every other material point on which it may be important that His Majesty's Government should be fully informed.

" You will also afford to his Majesty's Minister in Switzerland every assistance in your power in the execution of the instructions he has received towards assisting in the re-construction of the Swiss Corps, lately in the service of His most Christian Majesty.

" It will also be necessary that you should keep Mr. Canning and the Duke of Wellington regularly informed on all the points of your correspondence with me, either by sending them copies of your dispatches, or by enclosing them under flying seal, according as you may be guided by your local situation, or by the means of conveyance at your disposal.

" I am, with great truth and regard, &c. &c.

" CASTLEREAGH.

" To Lt. Col. William Martin Leake,
of the Royal Artillery, &c. &c. &c."

Setting out at once into Switzerland in pursuance of his instructions, Colonel Leake travelled by way of Brussels, in order to communicate with the Duke of Wellington, who was at that time with the head quarters of the British troops, collecting and adjusting the component parts of the army which fought the battle of Waterloo a few weeks afterwards. In the event of its being determined by the Allies that they should act upon the offensive, the Duke had already given it as his opinion that the first movement ought to be made in the quarter to which Colonel Leake was bound, and that the forces on the left of their line should cross the Rhine between Basle and Strasburg. The Duke, however, was not prepared with any immediate communication on the subject, as it will appear from the following note, and Colonel Leake proceeded at once on his journey.

"The Duke of Wellington's compliments to Colonel Leake, and begs to acquaint him that he will have occasion to write to Mr. Canning upon a subject interesting to the British Government, but it is necessary that he should first make a reference to the King of France, to which he cannot receive an answer for a day or two. The Duke, therefore, will not detain Colonel Leake."

"Brussels, May 21, 1815."

During Colonel Leake's residence with the Swiss army, the repeated aggressions of the French on the one side, and the want of cordial co-operation on the part of some of the troops on the other side, supplied matter for frequent dispatches to the Government at home. One of the most vigorous proceedings on the part of the Swiss was the reduction of the French fortress of Huningen, from which the city of Basle had suffered considerable

annoyance.* The garrison capitulated after a siege of ten days. According to his instructions Colonel Leake sent home an elaborate report upon the line of frontier, and he concluded the duties of his mission by drawing up a statement of the military institutions and administration of Switzerland, together with remarks of his own upon certain points in which he deemed them capable of improvement.

This was the last of Colonel Leake's professional services; and, having received from the Government the following official attestation of the efficiency with which it had been discharged, he retired into private life.

"Paris, October, 1815.

"SIR,

"The object of your residence with the army of the Swiss Confederation being accomplished, I am directed by His Royal Highness the Prince Regent to acquaint you that you are at liberty to return to England, and I am to signify to you the entire approbation of His Royal Highness of the manner in which you have performed the duties of the mission with which you have been entrusted.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"CASTLEREAGH.

"Colonel Leake, &c. &c."

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* From a private memorandum of Colonel Leake it appears that "one of their shells had the good or bad luck to pitch into the quadrangle of the house occupied by the Archduke himself, from whom I learnt the fact the next morning on visiting him. This explained to me also what at the time I had not thoroughly understood, namely, the falling of ten or a dozen shells into the river immediately in front of the Hotel of the Three Kings, in which were my own apartments, overhanging the river. I do not suppose that the shells were live shells; but the archduke was not the less angry at the insolence of the French, and he assured me that he should return the compliment with interest;—and so he did."

On his return to England Colonel Leake's literary labours were resumed, and they were continued with but little intermission down to the end of his life.

In 1821 he gave to the world his "Topography of Athens;" and in 1822 his edition of "Burckhardt's Travels in Nubia, Syria, and Arabia." In 1824 came out his "Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, with remarks on the Ancient and Modern Geography of that Country;" being an amplification of that very brief sketch in the letter to his father, which was given in a former part of this Memoir.* In 1826 he published an "Historical Outline of the Greek Revolution." In 1827, in conjunction with the Honourable Charles Yorke, he produced his "Notices of the Chief Egyptian Monuments in the British Museum," a work which at once established his reputation among the scholars of the Continent. In 1830 he published one of his greatest and most learned works, the "Travels in the Morea," accompanied by a large and valuable map. This was followed in 1835 by the "Travels in Northern Greece," a work of equal research and importance. In 1841 the "Topography of Athens" came to a second edition, and a second volume was added to the "Demi of Attica." In 1846 was published "Peloponnesiaca," a supplement to the "Travels in the Morea." To the Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature, of which Colonel Leake was a Vice-President, he contributed a long series of learned papers, one of which, his "Notes upon Syracuse," was issued in a detached form, and illustrated by fac-similes of the beautiful coins of Syracuse produced by a peculiar process on embossed paper. In 1857 he published a treatise upon "Some disputed questions of Ancient Geography." And besides these larger and more learned works, a series of pamphlets issued from his pen from time to time down to

* Page 3.

the year 1858, elicited for the most part by events happening in the political world, and inspired throughout by that desire to plead the cause and to avenge the wrongs of Greece, which was the ruling passion of his life.

Colonel Leake's later years, however, found their chief employment in the preparation of his "Numismata Hellenica." To the collection of coins which he had brought home with him from Greece he had made very large additions by purchase at the great sales in London and upon the Continent, of the Devonshire, the Pembroke, the Thomas, and many other important cabinets, and his collection was now entitled to a place among the first private collections of Greek coins in Europe. In the "Numismata Hellenica" not only is every coin separately registered and described, but its bearing upon Greek history and its connection with the literature, or the mythology, or the palæography, or the political and social condition, or the geography of ancient Greece, are explained in a series of notes extending over the whole work. It was published in 1854, and a supplement came out in 1859, only a few weeks before Colonel Leake's death. By the appearance of these volumes the often-repeated imputation upon English scholars, from the days of Haym at the beginning of the last century, to those of Millingen in the present, of having done little or nothing in the department of numismatic literature, and of being content to leave to foreigners the task of rendering a collection of coins available for purposes of study, was at once removed; and it has been remarked by no mean authority that if the author had never written anything besides this work, he would have earned for himself a high reputation among the literati of Europe.

During Colonel Leake's residence in Greece he had availed himself of the opportunities that fell in his way to collect not coins only, but gems also, vases, bronzes, and marbles. The marbles he presented in 1839 to the British Museum.—"It seldom happens," he remarks in his letter to the

trustees of the Museum, " that remains of art from Greece are not of some value, or that they are not of some utility in archæological studies, when their origin is exactly known."—A list of these marbles is given below.*

The gems, vases, and bronzes, together with the collection of coins vastly increased by the accumulated purchases of so many years, and a library of books formed during the long prosecution of those studies to which he had so successfully devoted himself, are now deposited by the authority of his will in the hands of trustees, who are instructed to offer the whole for purchase at a price very much below what they would fetch in the public auction room, first to the University of Cambridge, and in case of refusal by the University of Cambridge, to the University of Oxford, and in the event of a refusal being given in that quarter also, to the Harvard University at Cambridge, Massachusetts. Colonel Leake states in his will that he was moved to order this disposal to be made of his property, by a conviction of " the great importance of a systematical collection of Greek coins to the study of every branch of literature connected with the Greek language,"

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* 1. Bust of Æschines, inscribed with his name, from Bitolia in the ancient Pelagonia: presented to Colonel Leake by Ali Pacha.

2. Head, supposed of Homer. From the same place.

3. Basso relievo of a woman holding a torch, standing between a horse and a dog. From Crannon, in Thessaly.

4. Basso relievo representing a votive offering of hair to Neptune by Philombrotus and Aphthonetus, sons of Deinomachus. From Thebæ Phthioticæ.

5. Fragment of a basso relievo representing a battle of Amazons—perhaps the death or capture of Penthesileia. From Bryseæ in Laconia.

6. Statue of Hercules, much mutilated. From the coast of Laconia.

7. Torso, from Luku, probably the ancient Thyrea, in the Peloponnesus.

8. Draped female, wanting the head. From Sparta.

9. Hermaic statue of Ceres, dedicated by Chrionis.

10. Painted tile from Ægium in Achaia.

and also by a desire to obviate the main difficulties that impede the progress of the student by making a collection of Greek coins more easy of access than they are when locked up, as is usually the case, in private cabinets, and by depositing them in a place "habitually frequented by persons likely to consult them."

In the year 1838 Colonel Leake married Elizabeth Wray, the eldest daughter of Sir Charles Wilkins, and the widow of William Marsden, first Secretary of the Admiralty. To that lady, whose taste and acquirements were such as to qualify her for taking a more than ordinary interest in her husband's favourite studies and pursuits, he formally dedicated his last work the "Numismata Hellenica," adding a graceful acknowledgment that he was mainly indebted to her zeal and perseverance for its completion.

He died at Brighton on January 6th, 1860, after a sudden and short illness, and was interred in the cemetery at Kensal Green. He was followed to the grave by M. Tricoupi, the Minister of the King of Greece, who had expressed a desire to make this public acknowledgment of the respect and gratitude of his countrymen.

Colonel Leake was a fellow of several learned societies, both English and foreign. He was admitted a member of the Society of Dilettanti in 1814: and on the deaths of Lord Northwick and Mr. Hamilton in 1859 he became the second on the list, Lord Aberdeen only being above him. In 1828 he was elected a member of *The* Club; and at the time of his death he was the senior member but one of the Royal Society Club. He was a fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal Geographical Society; an honorary member of the Asiatic Society; a Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature; an honorary member of the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin; a correspondent of the Royal Institute of France; and an honorary D.C.L. of the University of Oxford.

The character of Colonel Leake was distinguished by a singular modesty, among strangers sometimes assuming the appearance of incommunicative reserve. Few men, indeed, having seen so much and done so much and read so much, could be found so unwilling to allow the events of their own lives to be made the subject of general conversation as Colonel Leake was. The object of this memoir is to record some of the most interesting of those events. It will serve to show what may be done in the world by a young man who sets himself resolutely to make the most of his opportunities. We see the Woolwich cadet, in spite of many discouragements and difficulties, rising into a position to do honourable service to his country as a soldier, a scholar, and a diplomatist. During his residence of those four years at the outset in the West Indies, the result of which in some cases would have been to induce habits of indolent self-indulgence, we find him lamenting the monotony of his lot, but never succumbing to it. To travellers of a more recent period the difficulties which he had to encounter while pursuing his researches in Greece are altogether unknown. They have only to consult for their guidance a French map of the Morea, for instance, executed by some of the ablest engineers in Europe, whereas in Colonel Leake's time there did not exist a single map which could be relied upon, either as to the littoral outline, or the position of any one point in the interior, and in order to arrive at the meaning of Pausanias or Strabo he was obliged to make his geography for himself. Modern travellers have repeatedly acknowledged that Colonel Leake's success can only be appreciated as it ought to be by those who are aware of the manifold difficulties which he had to contend with, and the hourly impediments which stood in the way of any traveller who at that period might attempt to make himself acquainted with the interior of Greece.

The testimonies of a long succession of travellers and critics to Colonel

Leake's merits as a topographer may be summed up in the following sentence:—"His researches, prosecuted under manifold disadvantages, must continue to form the basis of all that yet remains to be done towards completing our systematic knowledge of the subject which has worthily occupied so many years of his life: in all essential points they are models of their kind."*

The tablet erected over his remains in the catacombs of the cemetery at Kensal Green bears the following inscription:—

IN MEMORY OF

WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, F.R.S., &c.

LATE LIEUTENANT-COLONEL IN THE ROYAL ARTILLERY,
SECOND SON OF JOHN MARTIN LEAKE, ESQUIRE, OF THORPE HALL, ESSEX.

AN ACCOMPLISHED SCHOLAR,
AND AN UNWEARIED SEARCHER AFTER TRUTH,
HE RESCUED THE EARLY HISTORY OF GREECE FROM OBSCURITY,
AND THE MODERN FROM MISREPRESENTATION,
IN A SERIES OF LEARNED WORKS
WHICH HAVE CAUSED HIS NAME TO BE HONOURED IN EVERY COUNTRY
WHERE LITERATURE IS CULTIVATED.

HIS LIFE
WAS ILLUSTRATIVE OF THOSE GRAVE, MODEST, AND NOBLE TRAITS OF CHARACTER
WHICH ADORN INTELLECTUAL PRE-EMINENCE.

HE WAS BORN JANUARY 14, 1777.
HE DIED JANUARY 6, 1860.

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* "Edinburgh Review," July, 1842

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Leake, W. M., and Mr. W.

1864. Mar. 1.
Gift
John Howard Marsden,
of England.

TO THE CHANCELLOR, MASTERS, AND SCHOLARS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE.

The Trustees, under the Will of the late WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, Lieut.-Col. R.A., F.R.S., LL.D., etc., respectfully beg leave to inform the Chancellor, Masters, and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, that the said W. M. LEAKE, by his Will, bequeathed his Collections of Greek Coins and other antiquities, together with his Library of Books connected therewith, upon the trusts expressed and contained in the following extract from his Will.

After giving to his Wife, during her life, the use of all his Coins, and the Cabinets wherein the same are deposited, and his Books, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, and Articles of Vertu, the Will proceeds thus:—

"And whereas, considering the importance of a systematic Collection of Greek Coins to every branch of literature connected with the Greek language, and considering also the danger to which such property is peculiarly liable, and that such a Collection, to be useful, ought to be deposited in a place habitually frequented by persons likely to refer to the Collection; and that it should be regularly accessible to them, under such conditions and regulations as may be deemed necessary or expedient, I am desirous of making the bequest next hereinafter contained: I do therefore declare and direct, that from and immediately after the decease of my said Wife, all the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, and Articles of Vertu, and such of my Books as relate to, or have connection with, my Collection of Coins and Antiquities, and also all the printed or published Books written or published by me, and all other Books relating thereto or referred to therein, shall go and be bequeathed unto my Nephew STEPHEN MARTIN LEAKE and to my Nephew WILLIAM MARTIN LEAKE, hereinafter called my said Trustees, their Executors and Administrators, upon the Trusts following: that is to say, upon Trust, within twelve calendar months after the decease of my said Wife, to offer and dispose of the same to the Chancellor, Masters, and Fellows of the University of Cambridge, hereinafter called 'The University of Cambridge,' for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, to be paid by the said University to my said Trustees, at such days and times, not exceeding three years from the decease of my said Wife, and in such instalments and proportions as my said Trustees shall in their absolute and uncontrolled discretion deem proper; provided nevertheless, and the before-mentioned bequest is on this express condition, that it shall not be lawful for my said Trustees to dispose of the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, Articles of Vertu, and Books, to the said University, unless and until a Resolution or Grace has been passed by or in the Senate of the said University to the effect that the same shall for ever remain and be the property of such University, and that the Coins shall be kept without alteration as a separate and distinct Collection, except so far as it may be desirable to augment the same by making additions thereto.

"And in case the said Univer y of Cambridge shall decline, or for twelve calendar months after the decease of my d wife ect to accept the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, V s, Stat . Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, Artic of Vertu, a

stand and be possessed thereof, upon Trust, to offer and dispose of the same to the Chancellor, Masters, and Fellows of the University of Oxford, hereinafter called 'the University of Oxford,' for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at such days and times not exceeding four years from the decease of my said wife, and in such instalments and proportions as my said Trustees shall, in their absolute and uncontrolled discretion, think proper; provided nevertheless, and the before-mentioned bequest is on this express condition, that the said University shall pass a Resolution to the same purport or effect as the Resolution hereinbefore mentioned and required to have been passed in the Senate of the University of Cambridge, in the event of that University having accepted the said bequest.

"And in case the said University of Oxford shall decline, or shall for two years after the decease of my said wife neglect to accept the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, Articles of Vertu, and Books, upon the conditions before-mentioned, then I declare that my said Trustees shall stand and be possessed thereof, upon Trust, to offer and dispose of the same to the Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts, in the United States of America, for the sum of five thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at such days and times not exceeding five years from the decease of my said wife, and in such instalments and proportions as my said Trustees shall, in their absolute and uncontrolled discretion, think proper; provided always, and the said last-mentioned bequest is on this express condition, that the said Harvard University shall pass a resolution to the same purport and effect as the resolution hereinbefore required to have been passed in the Senate of the said University of Cambridge, in the event of that University having accepted the bequest hereinbefore contained.

"And in case the said Harvard University shall decline, or for three years next after the decease of my said wife neglect to accept the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, Articles of Vertu, and Books, upon the conditions before-mentioned, then I direct that my said Trustees shall stand and be possessed thereof, upon Trust, to use their best endeavours, within four years of the decease of my said wife, to sell the same to some Scientific or Educational Society in Great Britain for a sum not less than seven thousand pounds sterling; provided always, that such sale shall comprise the whole of the said Coins, Cabinets, Maps, Manuscripts, Electrotypes, Vases, Statues, Marbles, Bronzes, Gems, Articles of Vertu, and Books, and the said Scientific or Educational Society shall, prior to such sale, pass a resolution to the purport or effect of the resolution hereinbefore mentioned, and required to have been passed in the Senate of the University of Cambridge in the event of that University having accepted the said bequest."

The Will of Colonel LEAKE is dated the 17th January, 1859. Colonel LEAKE died on the 6th January, 1860, and his Wife died on the 12th April, 1863.

The Trustees, under the Will of Colonel LEAKE, in performance of their Trust, now respectfully submit to the University of Cambridge the offer of his Collections, upon the terms and conditions contained in the above bequest.

S. MARTIN LEAKE, } *Trustees.*
W. MARTIN LEAKE, }

1, ELM COURT, TEMPLE,
LONDON.